



Penn, Schoen & Berland
Associates, Inc.

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Survey of Likely Voters and Strategy Discussion

PSB conducted 1400 interviews of likely UK voters June 5-6, 2005. The margin of error is +/- 2.62% for the overall audience, higher for subgroups.

Mood

In the wake of the election, the electorate remains divided into partisan camps. The key early challenge for this term will be renewing the consensus about what needs to be done in the country. A number of the individual policies of the Queen's speech were very popular – they need to be forged into a new agenda.

The overall mood of the country is about where it was just prior to the election, but the economic mood is off a few points. We need to continue highlighting the good economy and its importance as the engine that enables virtually all other progress. It remains our biggest strength – economy voters still go our way 45/29/16. It is also an area where we get a great deal of agreement, and it can thus help form the basis for bringing people back together.

		June 05
Country	Right Track	43
	Wrong Track	49
Economy	Right Track	51
	Wrong Track	39
Favourability	Tony Blair	41/56
	Michael Howard	33/61
	Charles Kennedy	51/40
	Gordon Brown	52/43
	Labour Party	49/47
	Conservative Party	40/57
	Liberal Democrats	53/42
Approval	George W. Bush	26/67
	Tony Blair	46/51

May 2005 Vote

The May vote margins ultimately came down to the 14% of voters who switched their vote toward the end. The LDs had the biggest component of these late-switchers, at 18% - twice the percent as among Tory voters.

Of the Lib Dem vote overall, 23% voted on Iraq (compared to 10% of the overall). Of that group of LD voters whose vote was driven by Iraq, 29% switched to the LDs at the end – *representing 4% of the overall vote*. This is the late Lib Dem surge created by the Iraq / Attorney General disclosures.

IF VOTED IN 2005 ELECTION:

In the month or two prior to the election in May, did you change your vote?

	All	Voted Lab	Voted Cons	Voted LD	LD Iraq Voters
Yes	14	12	9	18	29
No	85	88	90	81	71

Overall, nearly half thought the leaked documents cost Labour many seats and many votes.

Do you think that the leaked documents about Iraq and the war caused Labour to lose:

	All	Voted Lab	Voted Cons	Voted LD	Swth
Many votes and seats in the election	45	48	38	47	39
Relatively few votes and seats	40	44	47	37	46
No votes and seats	7	3	10	6	8

This story was particularly bad for us because the other parties were not perceived to be the source of the leaks, and thus would not have suffered backlash from the story.

Who do you think leaked the documents?

	All	Voted Lab	Voted Cons	Voted LD
Government civil servants not particularly aligned with any party	28	27	30	31
Unhappy or former members of Labour	28	19	38	30
The Conservatives	7	12	1	4
Some foreign government or officials	5	6	4	5
The Liberal Democrats	1	1	1	0
Other	1	1	0	1
Don't know	31	36	25	29

IF CHOSE *Unhappy or former members of Labour*: Do you think they should be punished and thrown out of the party, or not?

	All	Voted Lab	Voted Cons	Voted LD
Yes, they should be punished and thrown out	32	54	19	33
No, they should not be	60	35	71	64

The strategy of targeting women for the short campaign worked well. 63% of those who switched to Labour at the end were women (compared to 52% of late-switchers overall who were women). These late-switching Labour women represented 2% of the overall vote. Getting these women to break for us at the end helped offset the voters who left us at the end because of the Iraq disclosures.

The issues that persuaded people to switch to Labour at the end were *standard of living* and *health care*. *Immigration and asylum* drove off some voters from Labour – but of those who left because of immigration and asylum 44% of them went to the Tories (1% of the overall vote) and 43% went to the Lib Dems (1% of the overall vote).

Profile of Switchers		All Switchers (N=162)	Switched to Lab (N=34)	Switched from Lab (N=57)	Switched to LD (N=51)
Gender	Male	48	37	56	55
	Female	52	63	44	45
Issue	Health care	26	33	26	22
	Education	11	6	12	10
	Immigration and asylum	31	19	46	32
	The economy	18	20	14	17
	Your standard of living	21	33	18	20
	Crime	9	2	12	13
	Pensions	10	9	7	11
	Iraq	11	1	16	22
	Anti-social behaviour	14	25	10	5

Those who voted Labour over the Conservatives said they did so because they thought the Conservatives would take the country *back, not forward* – twice as many gave that as the reason as any other reason.

Do you think the Conservatives did not do better in the last election because of:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
People thought they would take the country back, not forward	22	34	12	20
The negative campaign they ran	22	17	25	25
The Conservatives do not have the leadership talent to run the country	20	17	22	24
Their policies are out of step with the country	12	18	2	14
Michael Howard	9	6	11	9
Don't know	15	8	28	8

Top Issues

The issues array remains about what it was prior to the election – with our biggest strength among economy and public services voters.

In the next election for Parliament, which one of the following will be the most important to you in determining how you vote?	All	Male	Fem	Lab	Cons	LD
Public services like National Health and education	31	23	38	37	19	39
Public safety and security issues like crime, immigration, asylum, and anti-social behaviour	28	34	23	23	38	23
The economy and people's standard of living	25	25	25	31	23	18
Britain's membership in and relations with the EU	8	10	7	5	11	10
Terrorism and national security	4	5	3	3	7	4
Iraq and the related intelligence issues	2	1	2	0	1	4

In the next election for Parliament, which one of the following will be the most important to you in determining how you vote? (horse race by issue)	Lab	Cons	LD	DK
Public services like National Health and education	44	19	28	5
Public safety and security issues like crime, immigration, and anti-social behaviour	30	41	18	3
The economy and people's standard of living	45	29	16	6
Britain's membership in and relations with the EU	20	41	27	6
Terrorism and national security	27	48	19	2
Iraq and the related intelligence issues	6	21	57	4

In the News

Brown's announcement on the mortgage plan got high cut-through.

Aware	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Made More / Less Favourable to Labour				
Gordon Brown announced a mortgage plan that will help 100,000 people get on to the property ladder for the first time in the next 5 years	81 51/28	79 77/6	85 27/51	82 43/34
Tony Blair is working to persuade the wealthy G8 countries to increase aid to Africa and tackle climate change?	74 52/28	76 80/9	76 25/52	73 51/22
Tony Blair said that the "compensation culture" is out of control and say that there needs to be better regulation to prevent frivolous lawsuits	52 59/17	55 77/5	54 47/27	48 50/23

Michael Howard Stepping Down

Though Michael Howard's decision to step down has high awareness, people are reserving judgment on its impact, though there is some sense it is likely to be better than worse for the Tories.

Did you hear Michael Howard say he will step down as leader of the Conservative Party at the end of this year?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Yes	89	87	90	92
No	10	12	9	7
Does this make you:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Much more	8	8	11	7
Somewhat more	28	25	33	29
Somewhat less, or	19	17	21	20
Much less favourable to the Conservatives	4	6	1	5
Don't know	41	44	35	40
Once he leaves, will you be more or less favourable to the Conservative party?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
More	31	24	46	28
Less	18	23	7	19
Don't know	51	52	47	53

The Mandate

The decision not to run again provides a strong platform for demonstrating a renewal of Blair's and Labour's passion – particularly with women.

Now that Tony Blair said that this will be his last term, do you think he:	All	Male	Female	Lab	Cons	LD
Has even more passion to push through an aggressive agenda because it's his last term	56	52	60	84	35	45
Has less passion to accomplish things because it's his last term and he's already put through most of his ideas	28	31	26	9	45	34
Don't know	15	17	14	6	20	21

This will need to be backed up with continued focus on the ambitiousness of the third term proposals.

Do you believe that the agenda Tony Blair and Labour have planned for this Parliament is:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
A very ambitious one with many new ideas	10	17	4	5
A somewhat ambitious one with some new ideas	48	71	29	46
A mostly unambitious one with few new ideas	32	5	56	39
Don't know	11	7	10	10

People view the election as having given Labour a mandate for continued progress.

Do you think the recent election:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Gave Tony Blair and Labour a mandate to keep pushing their agenda	46	80	17	41
Showed that Tony Blair and Labour should not do anything very ambitious, but mostly just be a caretaker government	38	9	70	37
Don't know	16	11	13	22

People remain divided on whether the TB/GB teamwork survived the election.

Which is closer to your view regarding how Tony Blair and Gordon Brown have been working together in the time since the election took place:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
They are working as a unified team	50	82	23	41
They are not working as a unified team	50	18	77	59

Agenda

The top theme for the next term remains an economically focused one.

What do you think the major theme of Tony Blair and Labour's third term should be:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Spreading economic opportunity to everyone in Britain	22	22	18	24
Improving Britain's communities, towns, and cities	21	20	18	27
Continuing the progress and prosperity	12	24	5	5
Strengthening Britain's families	12	11	14	10
Assuring that those work for it, and only those who work for it, find opportunity	11	4	20	12
Making the country safer from terrorism	7	7	8	4
Bringing peace and unity to the region and the world	6	7	4	8
Modernising Great Britain	3	3	3	6

Reaction to the Queen's speech shows the highly partisan mood the electorate remains in. But in fact a number of the individual policies in the Queen's speech were very well received, even by people who like Blair but not Labour (Labour Defectors – 9% of the All).

Did you hear or read anything about the Queen's speech?	All	Male	Female	Lab	Cons	LD
Yes	47	59	37	42	56	49
No	52	41	62	57	43	51
IF YES: Did what you hear or read make you:	All	Male	Female	Lab	Cons	LD
Much more	6	7	4	16	1	1
Somewhat more	28	28	28	59	9	20
Somewhat less, or	27	25	29	11	35	38
Much less favourable to Labour	21	23	17	1	34	24
Don't know	18	17	21	13	21	18

For each of the following proposals set forth by Tony Blair and Labour in the Queen's Speech, please indicate if it makes you more or less favourable to Labour.

	All		Male	Female	Lab	Cons	LD	Labr Dfctrs (9%)
<i>Saying More / Less Fav to TB and Labour</i>	Much More	More/ Less						
A Violent Crime Bill: to tackle knife crime and reduce binge drinking and tackle yob behaviour in town centres	43	84/11	79/16	87/7	94/3	76/19	77/15	97/2
An Immigration and Asylum Bill: creating a points system for work permits and tougher penalties for employers who employ illegal workers.	35	74/18	68/23	80/13	89/6	65/27	62/26	83/16
A Health Improvement and Protection Bill: to tackle MRSA and to introduce a smoking ban in all enclosed public places	34	77/17	75/19	79/15	89/7	67/26	71/20	91/6
A Consumer Credit Bill: to update the consumer credit laws to give people greater protection from unfair lending practices.	28	82/11	81/11	82/10	94/4	70/20	80/8	96/3
A Counter Terrorism Bill: to strengthen and improve the Prevention of Terrorism Act	26	73/18	70/22	76/15	85/8	67/24	60/28	90/8
A Compensation Bill: to discourage the "compensation culture" in the law courts by reducing frivolous lawsuits.	25	73/18	69/23	77/15	89/7	61/29	68/24	90/8
An Education Bill: giving schools greater freedom to expand, allowing new independent providers to enter the state system, and giving parents more powers to call for inspections in failing schools.	22	69/22	63/27	74/16	83/10	61/27	60/30	84/14
A Child Care bill: requiring local authorities to secure sufficient child care to meet the needs in their local area	22	68/22	62/28	73/16	86/6	51/37	62/26	78/20
An Identity Cards Bill: to move towards the introduction of ID cards by 2008	21	47/45	44/50	50/40	64/30	32/57	42/48	59/28
A NHS Redress Bill: to allow patients to claim compensation for mistakes made by NHS hospitals.	20	58/32	52/39	65/25	74/20	44/45	52/35	64/33
A Pensions Bill (draft): setting up the authority to change the pensions system - but not before the Turner Commission reports in the autumn.	18	62/24	64/23	61/23	80/10	49/36	54/28	71/16
A House of Lords Reform Bill: to make it an elected chamber.	14	43/38	47/40	40/37	64/17	23/63	38/41	55/30
An Equality Bill: to extend protection against discrimination to religious faith and establish a new Commission for Equality and Human Rights.	13	47/40	42/46	52/34	64/25	26/60	45/38	57/31
A Parental Rights Bill: to extend maternity pay from 26 to 39 weeks from 2007, and allow some to be paid to the father.	13	42/45	37/50	47/38	59/28	25/63	42/45	50/44
A European Union Bill: setting out the rules for a vote on the new draft EU constitution - which could take place in spring 2006.	8	37/45	36/48	38/42	55/29	23/63	30/46	39/47

ID Cards

How much do you support or oppose a government issued ID card for everyone in the country?	All	Lab	Cons	LD	Pub Sfty
Strongly support	30	37	26	26	35
Somewhat support	30	34	26	28	31
Somewhat oppose	14	11	18	14	10
Strongly oppose	23	14	29	29	23

What do you think the biggest advantage of a national ID card would be:	All	Lab	Cons	LD	Pub Sfty
Helping keep out illegal immigrants and asylum seekers	28	28	30	24	38
Helping track and find criminals	20	23	13	27	16
Assuring that the National Health Service provides services only to people who are eligible for it in Britain	17	15	21	14	16
Assuring that British jobs do not go to illegal immigrants	8	7	11	5	10
Helping track possible terrorists	7	10	4	5	4
Don't know	21	16	22	26	18

Which of the following is closest to your view:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Government ID cards will provide numerous advantages, including helping protect public safety and assuring that public services and jobs go only to those who are eligible for them	59	69	55	53
Government ID cards would be a significant intrusion into civil liberties more appropriate for a totalitarian government than a democracy, because it would allow the government to track everything a person does	34	23	39	40

The Conservative reversal on ID cards provides a good issue to attack them on among the generally pro-Tory public safety voters.

In the last parliament, the Conservatives supported the Government's ID card scheme. Now the Conservatives say they oppose them. Does this make you:	All	Lab	Cons	LD	Pub Sfty
Much more favourable	12	5	26	4	13
Somewhat more favourable	15	8	24	15	11
Somewhat less favourable, or	28	24	31	35	33
Much less favourable to the Conservatives	29	50	3	28	28
Don't know	16	12	16	18	15

Which of the following is closest to your view:	All	Lab	Cons	LD	Pub Sfty
The Labour position that government ID cards will help tackle illegal immigration and public services abuse, support the work of the law enforcement agencies in tackling the threat of terrorism and organized crime, and reduce identity theft.	48	68	30	42	55
The Conservative position that government plans are badly managed, ID cards will be very expensive and ineffective and use completely unproved technology, and thus should not be enacted.	38	19	59	42	35
Don't know	15	13	12	16	11

EU Constitution

Opposition to the EU Constitution is strong.

If there was a referendum on the EU Constitution in Britain, would you vote for it or against it?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
For	16	22	4	25
Against	65	51	90	56
Don't know	18	26	6	19

The opposition is so strong that people want the chance to vote against it.

Given the recent votes by France and the Netherlands to reject the EU Constitution, do you think Britain should:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Hold a referendum on the EU Constitution anyway to register Britain's views	52	39	72	50
Not hold a referendum, because the Constitution is basically dead as it stands	37	43	23	44
Don't know	11	18	5	6

There remains some support for revising the Constitution and re-submitting it, but the plurality would rather drop the idea entirely.

Do you think the EU Constitution should now be:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Dropped entirely	48	33	79	33
Revised and resubmitted for the approval of the EU countries	41	51	17	60
Don't know	10	16	4	7

Half would prefer the EU reverted back to how it was 20 years ago, with virtually no Brussels government – and focus just on smooth trade relations. Even EU supporters are wary of the idea of moving toward full integration.

If you had to pick what happened to the EU now, which would you pick:	All	Lab	Cons	LD	EU Supprt
That the EU return to how it was 20 years ago basically just a common market that makes trade and other relations among the European countries smoother	50	29	85	35	21
That EU stay basically the way it is, with some central government in Brussels, but not try to integrate any further	27	35	11	36	25
That the EU proceed on its path to fuller integration, and simply take the rejection of the proposed Constitution as just a temporary set-back	18	33	0	21	48

Tony Blair has said that given the rejection of the Constitution by France and the Netherlands, it no longer makes sense to press ahead with a referendum in Britain on the Constitution. Do you agree with this decision by the government or not:

	All	Lab	Cons	LD	EU Supprt
Yes, agree there should no longer be a referendum	50	63	39	41	52
No, think there should still be a referendum	44	31	57	51	41

Do you think Tony Blair is cancelling the referendum in Britain because:

	All	Lab	Cons	LD
He is afraid it would lose and that would be a major political defeat for him	55	31	84	59
He truly believes it no longer makes sense to hold the referendum given its rejection by France and the Netherlands	36	57	11	38
Don't know	8	12	5	3

Do you think the EU is:

	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Good for Britain	38	47	21	48
Bad for Britain	46	35	64	37
Don't know	16	18	14	15

Do you think the EU is important for the stability and peace of Europe, or not?

	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Yes, it's important for the stability and peace of Europe	50	63	34	52
No, it's not important for the stability and peace of Europe	40	29	57	36
Don't know	10	8	10	12

Which is closer to your view:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
The defeat of the EU Constitution is good for Blair because it means he will not have to hold a referendum on it in Britain – which would only hurt him.	42	47	39	37
The defeat of the EU Constitution is bad for Blair because it was a key goal of his to get it passed, and now it will not happen.	35	26	44	42
Don't know	23	28	17	21
Do you think Tony Blair should:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Let other countries work out the problems of the EU Constitution, and simply assure that Britain's interests are protected in whatever happens	57	53	70	48
Help lead the effort to get the process back on track for getting an EU Constitution passed	29	36	14	38
Don't know	14	11	16	14

Iraq

Do you think that Britain should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Should have	47	63	38	33
Should NOT have	47	31	53	63
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Tony Blair is handling Britain's current involvement in Iraq?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Approve	36	61	22	19
Disapprove	54	24	73	75
Which of the following is closest to your view?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Tony Blair is focused too much on Iraq and other overseas issues, and not paying enough time to making things better here at home	61	34	82	74
Tony Blair has found the right balance in the amount of time and attention he is giving to issues here in Britain on the one hand, and Iraq and other foreign issues on the other	30	61	9	15
Do you trust Blair to handle current and future issues regarding Iraq, or not?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Yes	37	73	12	17
No	54	15	84	77
Do you think things in Iraq are generally moving in the direction of getting:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Better	38	55	28	29
Worse	42	24	56	49
Don't know	20	21	16	22

Do you think the people of Iraq overall are:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Glad the war was undertaken and Hussein removed from power	55	70	48	47
Not happy about it and would prefer to have left it the way it was than to go through what they are going through	22	14	28	26
Don't know	23	16	24	26
 Do you think the Middle East will be more stable as a result of having removed Saddam Hussein from power, or not?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Yes	44	58	31	44
No	39	29	49	38
Don't know	17	13	20	18
 Do you think Britain is at greater or lesser risk of terrorism here in the country as a result of having removed Saddam Hussein from power?	All	Lab	Cons	LD
Greater	62	54	70	64
Lesser	18	23	14	16
Don't know	20	22	16	20
 Which is closer to your view:	All	Lab	Cons	LD
The political campaign provided plenty of debate about the war and whether the country was misled or not, and we should now just get on with the business of calming and rebuilding Iraq	50	63	44	41
The political campaign further confirmed that there were serious lapses of judgment, leadership, and ethics relating to the war, and we need to get to the bottom of those to punish any wrongdoing and prevent them from happening again	37	20	49	47
Don't know	14	16	7	13

We tested a series of statements supporting Iraq and another series attacking our involvement there.

IRAQ RATIONALES

For each of the following statements, please indicate whether you:

Saying Agree/Disagree

Across Iraq, millions of people are risking their lives every day to keep the country moving forward, just by venturing out to go to work, taking their kids to school, and signing up to serve as a police officer. They deserve the support of Britain and of our brave troops in helping assure their courage pays off in a stable and free Iraq.

The only thing blocking the way of Iraq from forming a stable democracy are terrorist acts by a relatively small number of often foreign killers who are happy to murder civilian men, women, and children to assure continued chaos. Our troops have played and must continue to play the critical role they are in assuring that democracy and not the terrorists prevail.

As we know from the turnout in the Iraq election, the vast majority of people there are willing to risk their lives to keep the country on the road to democracy. As the world's oldest democracy, we in Britain should be satisfied with the critical role we played in helping create one of the world's newest democracies.

Al Qaeda and other radical terrorists have made Iraq the proving ground for their brand of extremism. By seeing things in Iraq through to the end, which is getting closer every day, we will send them a clear message that their terror will not find a home in Iraq or anywhere else.

Fighting and beating them there means we will be less likely to have to fight them here in Britain or elsewhere.

By showing rogue leaders that the international community will not tolerate them mass murdering their own citizens or threatening their neighbours, the action in Iraq will make other leaders, including those in Iran and Syria, much more wary about violating international law and international norms.

By going to war in Iraq, the international community has shown its resolve to make UN resolutions mean something. That message by itself will help assure that other rogue nations do not feel, as Saddam Hussein did, that they can ignore the UN without any consequences.

With the elections in Iraq, things finally turned the corner there. The Iraqis are assuming more and more control, and even the Sunnis rebels are now looking to join in writing the new Constitution. Things are not perfect yet, but there is real progress. We must stay the course.

As we can see from the moves toward peace between Israel and the Palestinians, the multi-party elections in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and the increasing pressure on Iran and Syria to stop their funding of terrorism, the action in Iraq is having a true positive impact throughout the region and even the world.

	All					
	Strng	Agree/	Lab	Cons	LD	No
	Agree	Disagree				Iraq
	27	76/13	85/6	72/17	69/17	63/25
	25	70/18	81/9	66/24	64/22	55/34
	22	69/20	81/10	62/28	62/23	52/37
	22	64/24	77/12	56/34	58/27	47/42
	22	68/21	80/12	60/30	64/21	52/37
	19	60/28	75/13	49/42	57/30	41/49
	18	67/20	80/10	61/31	61/24	51/37
	16	58/26	73/14	47/36	52/27	39/44

IRAQ ATTACKS

For each of the following statements, please indicate whether you:

Saying Agree/Disagree

The issue is not whether we were right to go to Iraq or not. The issue is that the people and the Parliament were lied to about the reasons for going. And that means at least we did not have a real debate on the reasons for going, and also were led to support the war on false pretences.

	All		Lab	Cons	LD	No Iraq
	Strngly Agree	Agree/Disagree				
27	60/28	46/44	74/14	63/23	82/10	
25	55/34	40/51	65/25	64/25	83/10	
24	63/25	52/39	71/16	69/18	85/7	
24	53/32	42/45	62/23	59/27	82/7	
19	59/29	49/41	66/23	66/20	82/9	
18	47/39	35/52	58/31	56/29	77/14	
16	48/38	40/49	57/30	53/31	69/20	
14	47/40	41/49	53/33	52/35	74/17	

The real reason we fought in Iraq was because we wanted to stay in the good graces of the United States – and that is not a good enough reason to fight a war and get our troops killed.

Whether the war was right or not, the planning of the war was bad, and we are now stuck in an endless engagement there that could well turn out to be another Vietnam – an endless low level war that will continue killing our troops and Iraqi civilians, with no real exit.

Whether Saddam Hussein was a threat to his neighbours or not, the war was not approved by the UN, and it was therefore illegal.

Fighting in Iraq has turned a huge piece of the world against us – Muslims and Arabs. And that can only mean that we will be less effective in foreign policy and a bigger target for terrorism for years into the future.

The truth about the situation in Iraq at the time we went is that Saddam Hussein was not a threat to the region and did not have weapons of mass destruction. And that means we had no real reason to go in.

The truth is that while Hussein did not support terrorists and was not harbouring them, Iraq has become a breeding ground for them in the wake of our invasion. Rather than suppressing terrorism, we have in fact stirred it up and given it a new home.

Given the tens of thousands of people who were killed in Iraq from the war and the current chaos there, it is simply not plausible to say the people are better off there now than they would have been under Hussein.